

✓
S P E E C H
OF
HON. THOS. F. MARSHALL,
IN OPPOSITION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE
KNOW-NOTHING ORGANIZATION.

[Republished from the Kentucky Yeoman.]

VERSAILLES, June 24, 1855.

Messrs. Editors:

Thomas F. Marshall reached this village yesterday, about 12 o'clock. He had ridden twelve or fourteen miles through a hard rain, and was wet through his entire clothing. At three o'clock he commenced his speech in the Court House, which was full of people, principally from the country. Fifteen or twenty ladies were in attendance. His voice was husky and feeble, and his manner and whole person indicated fatigue and anxiety. He spoke more than three hours, and, at the close, declared himself a candidate for Congress, by virtue of his own nomination, and as the representative of his own ideas. He read the entire platform of the Philadelphia Convention, and expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the resolutions in relation to slavery. He sifted the balance of the resolutions at great length. He seemed to think it strange that the existence of the Deity, and his superintendence of the world should have been among Sam's secrets. He had supposed these matters were extensively known, and generally received among men, before the advent of Young Sam. It was strange to him, that there should be a *Protestant* party in this country, bound together by an oath of secrecy, under a thorough and complete organization, whose objects were political, owing allegiance to a government unknown to the constitution and the laws, with objects and with men concealed from all but the initiated. An *imperium in imperio*, seeking to grasp all power in this country, legislative and administrative, from a constable to the President of the United States.

He looked around him upon a crowd of men, familiar to him all his life. He saw men who had been the tried men of his bosom—the companions of his heart—men who had stood by

him in every variety of fortune, through good and evil report—men who had wrapped themselves about him, like the traveler's cloak in the fable, to shield him and to shelter him when the storm had raged the loudest and the fiercest, and these men, bound by an oath not to reveal, even to him, the fact, the simple fact, that they were members of this order until the dispensing power of the general council authorized the disclosure! The order, so far as he understood it, seemed an exact copy of that instituted by Ignatius Loyola. Its objects were universal empire, and the establishment of a religion by *political* authority; Loyola's was Catholic; this was Protestant Jesuitism. Mr. M., argued at great length to prove, that popular institutions could not subsist without entire publicity in political transactions.

He said, that Young Sam had promised a national platform. He called his folks the "American party." In this he had failed signally. The convention at Philadelphia, were certainly know-nothings—all know nothings. There must have been some principles, common to the entire order, which united and made them one. These principles did not relate to slavery—on that point Sam broke into two. The party North were abolition; the party South held no principles upon the subject peculiar to themselves—they held nothing that had not been avowed, aye, and acted on, by the national democracy for many years, and through fierce contests. What was it upon which Northern and Southern know-nothingism agreed? What was the point of contact between them? Nothing that he could discover but the repeal of the naturalization laws, and the imposition of political disabilities upon men of the Catholic communion, whether of American or foreign birth. Upon these points, Sam North and Sam South, white Sam and black Sam agreed. This was all his

rationality--this was all his Americanism.—Mr. Marshall labored to show that these were anti-American ideas. He contended that religious toleration and the right of expatriation were peculiar to this republic. That these were the features that distinguished our institutions from every form of polity—that had ever been known among men. He admitted that Sam could repeal the naturalization laws, by act of Congress, without violating the Federal Constitution. Whether he should do so or not, was a matter of sound discretion and policy. Religious liberty, however, in its largest and widest sense, was, he said, established by the Constitution. If Young Sam succeeded in his organization, it would be really and practically abridged. That, when a party had a particular object—a single idea, paramount to all others, the distinguishing feature of their system—all experience had shown, that whenever they acquired the political power, they carried this idea into legislation, and sought to make it permanent by the sanctions of law. Catholic disabilities was Sam's leading object. His disciples were sworn never to vote for a Catholic for office. Sam considered such unfitted by his religion to hold office in a republican government. Sam considered this republic as seriously endangered by the practical operation of that principle in the Constitution, which declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Sam sought to establish a religious test. He cannot do so, permanently, without changing the Federal Constitution. If Sam gets the power he will be inconsistent and stupid, unless he grafts upon the Constitution, and makes a part of the fundamental law, his great idea—the idea upon which "Protestant civilization" and the hopes of the world, in his judgment, depend. Sam can only reach his object through a revolution in the government.

In proof of this, Mr. M. referred at length, to the letter of the Rev. Robt. J. Breckinridge, to the Commonwealth. There was in Mr. M.'s judgment, an awful significance in that letter. It threw out in distinct outline, the dark shadow of coming events. The writer was a man of great genius. As the representative of the religious element, he scorned to wear a mask, and wrote over his own proper signature. Whatever emanated from that source, Mr. M. thought on many accounts, was worthy of the most attentive consideration. Mr. Breckinridge, after asserting that the nationality of America is to be sustained, her Protestant civilization to be perpetuated, and her Federal Union to be preserved, by destroying the foreign and Catholic influence, which he considers as in a great measure now controlling our government and politics, proceeds in the following ominous language. "There is but one possible method of dealing with the subject. The organized power of society must be taken out of the hands of those who have betrayed their vast interests, and must be put into the hands of those who

will cherish them. Public opinion, is the only instrument by which the great change can be effected. *The first step of the revolution is political; the second is legal.* The first step involves the organization, and the triumph of a party commensurate with the country—"The American party"—and that involves the overthrow of every party that resists its ultimate objects, *or resists the necessary means of attaining those objects.* Indeed, if this step were fully achieved, it would be of less consequence to take a second one; since laws, though bad, are endurable, and society is safe, as soon as it has finally put out of power, *all men and parties hostile to nationality*, to our Protestant civilization, and to our Federal Union; *out of power with an overthrow incapable of being repaired.* And this is the reason why this great movement excites such excruciating bitterness of hate, in its political aspect, on the part of all against whom it is directed. Its success is seen to be a finality and a fatality to them, &c." This language, and the ideas thereby conveyed, are most portentously distinct. Taken in connection with the character of the author, and his vast and controlling influence in what he calls "the religious element," in this great movement, they become of the most intense importance. Mr. B. knows very well, said Mr. M., that a party victory in a single election, a transient political success, would go but little way, in the road he wishes to travel. Mr. B. *calls* it a revolution. "The first step of the revolution, he says, is political; *the second is legal.*" "Our nationality is endangered: our Protestant civilization is endangered; our Federal Union is endangered; the preservation of these constitutes our mission on earth." The country, of whose purpose know nothingism is the manifestation, has determined to surround the great interests with "additional safe-guards." They who are opposed to the methods proposed of furnishing adequate safe-guards to nationality, civilization and union, "ought, in the judgment of the country," as Mr. B. thinks, and writes, "to be indiscriminately crushed." "We, and our fathers, Mr. B. says, have an unsettled account with Popery, many centuries old." It is clear, very clear, that *the revolution*, aimed at by "young Sam," and in the contemplation of Mr. B., involves the total repeal of the naturalization laws, and the change of the Constitution of the United States, in relation to religious tests as qualification for office. It is uncandid in the extreme, in the American party and their orders, to endeavor to deny or obscure their real objects. Their is nothing, else but this legal revolution, which discriminates them as a party. "*Americans shall rule America.*" So say I, said Mr. M., so says every one. "But who are Americans."—By our Constitution and laws, persons of a certain color born in the United States, and others "naturalized" by law, are citizens and Americans. They do rule America, and for some seventy years, have ruled it more peacefully and prosperously, than any other people ever

JK 2341
A755
1855
M 3

were ruled, for the same length of time, in ancient or modern times, of which we have any record. Mr. M. here went into a rapid sketch of the history of the Papacy, of the reformation, and of the struggles among the rival religions in Europe. He contended that our immediate ancestors, had suffered nothing from Papal oppressions. The rival sects, the offspring of the reformation, had alternately persecuted each other, as they had alternately conquered, had held political power at home. The Churchman persecuted the Puritan, the Puritan and Presbyterian persecuted the Churchman; and both had persecuted the Catholics. New England, Maryland, and Virginia, were settled principally by exiles and refugees from religious intolerance in England. The tolerant spirit of the gospel, the true genius of christianity, which is universal charity, the principle of Luther, the true principle of the reformation, never had practical life, till it was established here in our republic, and by those institutions which young Sam seeks to overthrow. Mr. M. elaborated this part of his subject to an extent, and with a variety of illustrations through which we cannot pretend to follow him in this hasty sketch. He said that the body politic, the grand corporation which was styled the U. S. of America, was the only state of society of men ever known, which as a government had no religion.

The Hindoo, Persian, Jew, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Barbarian had all their religious establishments, with their orders of priesthood existing by law, and sustained by the power of the State. Christianity, too, after it triumphed over paganism, and had sustained terrific persecutions, from the Roman Emperor, formed a political alliance and became a part of the imperial establishment. We know the result. The reformation of the sixteenth century did not cure the evil. The three great divisions of the reformed church, the Lutheran or German under the confession of Augsburg, the Calvinistic with the Presbyterian model of government, and the peculiar system of dogmas tortured from the writings of St. Paul by the French Reformer, and the Episcopal church of England, each sought a political establishment in the several countries where they obtained. Each considered itself as peculiarly entrusted with the cause of Almighty God, and dealt with Catholics, heretics, and dissenters from what the dominant party called orthodoxy, as though clothed with infinite judgment in divine things, and with the mission of infinite vengeance for speculative errors, sins of opinion. Luther, perhaps the greatest personage, who appeared in the church after its founder, was far, very far in advance of the age in which he lived. He taught the doctrines of religious toleration, and practiced what he taught. But he was not understood by his own times. Men had to be educated to a truth so sublimely simple, through centuries of mutual intolerance, suffering and blood. It was reserved for the founders of this republic to proclaim and to establish the great truth, that

political government had nothing to do with speculative opinions, religious dogmas, or forms of ecclesiastical polity. Of these matters the law "knows nothing." The Bible is the only standard of religious truth. Each individual man is interpreter for himself. He needs no priest or mediator, but Christ in Heaven and God is the only judge and avenger of sin. Political government guards life, liberty, and property. It takes cognizance of human action, only as it effects others, in some one of these rights. It restrains the liberty of no man, only where such liberty trenches upon the equal rights of another. It interferes with opinion not at all upon any subject; least of all in religion. That is an affair between the individual man and his Maker.

To a free Bible, a free Press, a free Pulpit, and a system of religious belief and discipline absolutely voluntary and free without restraint or interference, our law has entrusted the truth. Orthodoxy is an affair for the preachers not for statesmen. The preacher is the advocate, the individual is the judge. The law takes no part. Argument is the only coercion in this world. No torture; no civil disability is allowed. The convincing reasonings of fire, or social degradation, or political disfranchisement are repealed here, and it was hoped forever. Penalties for heresies in opinion, for speculative errors, are referred to the power who formed the human mind, and who alone can judge it with perfect knowledge and perfect righteousness.

The Catholic religion in this country is a perfectly voluntary system. The Priesthood of that communion have no means here of enforcing this system, or punishing disobedience or disbelief. The Catholic may stay away from the confessional, as the protestant may from preaching, there is no law or magistrate to make him afraid. Right or wrong, this is our system. In my judgment, said Mr. M., it bears the impress of consummate wisdom. Young Sam, however, judges differently. He affects to be afraid of the temporal power of the Pope. Mr. M. went into the history of Italy after the grants of territory made by Pepin and Charlemagne to the Bishop of Rome, from which date that ecclesiastic appears in the two fold character, of an Italian Prince, and the spiritual head of Christendom. Mr. M. alleged, that the temporal power or political authority was never acknowledged by any State or people out of his own dominions, never, not in the times of Gregory, or Innocent, or Boniface. As a Temporal Prince, the Pope treated, negotiated, fought.—He formed alliances or waged war with Catholic States and Princes within the Peninsula or beyond the Alps on terms of perfect political equality. No citizen of Venice or Florence, no subject of Milan or Naples during the middle age, and after Italian wars and politics became interwoven with those of the transalpine nations, as part of the general history of Europe, no Frenchman, German, Englishman, or Spaniard, though all Catholic, ever dreamed that he

owed allegiance to the Pope, as a temporal monarch, or was bound to his holiness by any tie, that interfered with his duty to his own government, or made it sacrilege, to bear arms against the Pope in war. Charles V., the greatest Catholic Monarch of his day, the most devoted to the spiritual claims and jurisdiction of the Pope, the most decided and dangerous enemy to Luther and the reformation, after endeavoring in vain, by a long and subtle course of negotiation, in the sixteenth century, to draw the Pope into an alliance against France, declared war against him, sent an Imperial army of German, Italian, and Spanish Catholics, commanded by a Catholic Prince, Charles Bourbon, against the Holy City itself. It was taken and sacked with merciless ferocity—the Pope himself taken captive, and confined, till the Emperor extorted such an alliance, and such guarantees as pleased the victor. The temporal power of the Pope in the nineteenth century is indeed a ghost wherewith to frighten the North American Republic. Sam is indeed scared, timid youth, at shadows—shadows thrown by no substance in existence, either now or in the past, shadows the new creation of his own fears, or the inventions of his wit to frighten others, as malicious boys scare babies, with stories of raw heads and bloody bones. Persecution, Mr. M. said, was ever found to multiply the persecuted sect, unless you exterminated them. Leave the Catholics, said Mr. M., where the constitution left them, or treat them, as the inquisition in Spain and the Papal States in Italy, treated Heretics—burn them, and burn them all. Mr. M. said that it was mere trifling in Sam to say that to exclude a man from office or honor in a free State, to place a whole class of native citizens in a rank below others, on account of their religion, was not persecution on account of religion, was not an abridgement of his religious liberty. Sam says in one of his resolves, that he does not mean to interfere with the rights of conscience or religious belief.—The Catholics may worship God, after their own fashion, but he will degrade them for it below the condition of free citizens. He will place them in the caste of mulattos, free negroes, and Indians. Sam had as well say, that he might imprison or burn for religious opinions and the victims might still believe as they pleased. Galileo when thrown into the dungeon, still enjoyed philosophic freedom—he still believed that the earth revolved. Huss, when expiring in the flames at Constance, and Servetus, at Geneva, enjoyed their religious belief and shouted and proclaimed it as though triumphing in death. An “American Party,” should be ashamed of such wretched and shuffling sophistry. Shift the shoe to the other foot. Gore the other ox and Sam will shift his arguments in a trice—he will roar you out religious and civil liberty, loud as a young lion when roused from his jungle by the spear of the hunter. Indeed he tells you now, that for a Catholic man to hold office in this country, is an infraction of his Protestant

liberty. What would he say—ye gods! what would he say, if the Catholics were actually banded together, as he seeks to band the Protestant sects together against them, for the avowed purpose of excluding all American Protestants from office and all native Americans not Catholics from suffrage, as being inclined naturally to Protestantism. Let Catholics and foreigners, treat Sam, as he is actually trying to use them, and you would hear the cry of persecution raised lustily. He would attest Heaven and earth, he would rush to arms in defence. The badge, the universal badge of Anglo Saxon freedom, the rights of representation, would be torn from Sam only with his life. This right if extinguished, would be extinguished only in his blood.

In relation to the naturalization laws, Mr. M. observed, that there was undoubtedly just cause of complaint for abuse and frauds practiced under them. The true spirit of those laws was evaded, and their real object defeated in very many instances by their defective execution, growing, as he thought, mainly out of the defective mode of proof of the preliminary facts as provided by the laws themselves. In this particular he was and had long been in favor of their amendment.

The intention of those laws, was that no alien should be admitted to the rights of citizenship, or take the oath of abjuration and allegiance, till he had actually resided within the limits of the United States, or some of her territories, five years. Moreover, such alien must have declared his purpose to become a citizen three years before his admission to take the oath. In point of fact, according to the present mode of executing the laws, and the mode of proof under them, aliens are in very many instances admitted, who have not been in the country six months. He thought that these evils and abuses could be completely corrected, and the naturalization laws enforced according to their real intent, by revision and amendment. He thought the object could be effected by means of offices of Registry in which all aliens coming into the country should be compelled to enter their names, with the date of their arrival, and the further provision that a certified copy of such entry under the seal of the office, should be filed in a court, either district or circuit, of the United States or some of her territories, at the time when the party makes his declaration of intention to become a citizen, and that both the declaration and entry should be recorded in a Federal Court. That when three years thereafter the party should apply for admission to take the oaths, the certified copy of the date of his registration and his previous declaration of his intention to become a citizen, from the office of record, should alone be received as evidence of either fact. It would be a matter of no great difficulty to prevent the importation or landing upon our shores of paupers and felons, without touching the real objects

and spirit of the the naturalization laws as they stand.

The object of the k. n secret association, is to repeal the naturalization laws altogether, and to admit none but natives to the elective franchise, and to exclude even natives if they be Catholics from every office under Government: "Americans and Protestant Americans by birth shall alone rule Americans." The Pharisaic Philadelphia Platform announces as its third great cardinal principle, "The maintenance of the Union as the paramount political good," and by way of corollary from or exemplification of the principle, "Obedience to the constitution of the United States as the supreme law of the land, sacredly obligatory upon all its parts and members; *and steadfast resistance to the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts.*" This lip-service to the Union and the constitution is exceedingly fashionable, and marvellously cheap and easy. The Abolitionist, when he takes his seat in Congress, swears to observe the Constitution and maintain the Union. The nullifier does the same. Your man from Massachusetts, who is both abolitionist and nullifier swears to Sam's doctrine. We must go a little farther than these general declarations, even when backed by oaths, before we can know whom to trust with the Union and the Constitution. Sam avows "steadfast resistance to the spirit of innovation upon the *principles* of the Constitution, however specious the pretexts." This is Sam's text. One of the principles of the Constitution is that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States." Sam has sworn upon the holy evangelists, to exclude all men of the Catholic religion, whether citizens by birth or naturalization, from every office of public trust under government. This is young Samuel's commentary and proof of his "steadfast resistance to innovation upon the *principles* of the Constitution" upon any "pretext, however specious." The Constitution declares that Congress shall have power to establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and further, that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

There is abundant evidence from the highest and most indisputable sources, that if Sam is not able to repeal the laws of naturalization established by the national legislature in pursuance of the constitution, he means wherever he has the power, by State laws or constitutions, to repeal the naturalization laws, and set up by State authority different tests of citizenship from those established by Congress, producing thereby a beautiful uniformity on this subject. The source from whence I draw my proof of this latter proposition (said Mr. M.,) is no less high and indisputable than the official efforts of the Hon. Garrett Davis, of Bourbon, backed with all the powers of argument and eloquence of which that gentleman is so conspicuous a master. The resolutions

which he offered when a member of the convention, which formed the new constitution of Kentucky, and the speeches which he made in support of them, are now before me. Mr. Davis, in fixing or attempting to fix the rights of citizenship, and the qualifications of voters, under the new constitution, sought to confine them in Kentucky, as to persons of foreign birth: 1st. To such as at the time of the adoption of the amended constitution should be naturalized citizens of the United States. 2d. To such as at the time of the adoption of the amended constitution, should have declared their purpose to become citizens of the United States, in conformity to the laws thereof, *and who shall have become citizens.* 3d. Those who, *twenty-one years previously thereto, shall have declared their purpose*, according to the existing provisions of the laws of the United States, to become citizens thereof; and who then shall be citizens of the U. S., &c. The true meaning of the 3d provision is perhaps not perfectly clear. It is differently interpreted by different readers.—Some persons consider, that it was Mr. Davis' intention through all time, to confer the right of suffrage upon foreigners born, who had declared their purpose to become citizens of the U. S. twenty-one years previously to their application to vote, and who should be actually citizens at the time of the election at which such application should be made. Such persons consider the words "previously thereto," to mean previously to any election which might be held in Kentucky, at any distance of time from the adoption of the amended constitution, while that constitution remained in force. To him it appeared (said Mr. M.,) that the plain grammatical construction, taking all the clauses together, is that the word "thereto" refers to the adoption of the amended constitution—no other point of time is referred to or named in any of the clauses. The first clause begins "those who at the time of the adoption of this amended constitution," &c. The second clause commences with the same words—and the third proceeds immediately without any other phrase or reference, "Those who, twenty one years previously thereto, &c." Previously to what? To the adoption of the amended constitution, undoubtedly. Whether Mr. Davis meant to confine the right of suffrage in the case of foreigners born, only to those who were naturalized citizens of the United States at the time of the adoption of the amended constitution, and who had been actual residents of the country and declarants of their purpose to become citizens, twenty-one years previously thereto, or meant that twenty-one years residence and naturalization under the laws of the U. S., shall at any time confer the right of suffrage, without reference to the date of the amended constitution, was immaterial, Mr. M. said to his statement.—In either event, he said it was the purpose of the resolutions, to exclude from office and suffrage in Kentucky naturalized citizens of the United States, who had every other qualifica-

tion of a citizen of Kentucky but birth. The constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress in relation to the important subject of citizenship, recognize no distinction between citizens by birth and citizens by adoption. The rules of naturalization must be uniform. The language employed, the word used to express the act of conferring the rights of citizenship upon an alien born, whatever those rights may be, is singular and exceedingly impressive.—The law is said not to convert him into a denizen, or citizen, or to confer any limited or specified rights upon him, but to *naturalize* him.—Such is the transcendent power intended to be conferred upon Congress, that the law passed in pursuance of it, is supposed to abolish the fact of foreign birth, and to stand in the place of nativity. The new born republican is regenerated by an act of paramount and all sovereign grace. In the language of the Theologians, he is born again. Now these naturalization laws require only five years residence. Mr. Davis' resolution requires twenty-one, and therefore in Kentucky render null and imperative the law of the United States:

Mr. M. here paid a glowing compliment to Mr. D.'s talents, firmness, and purity. He avowed in the most emphatic terms, his perfect accordance with the general views of that gentleman, in relation to social organization and fundamental law, as maintained by him in the convention. He could never sufficiently admire or laud the political heroism and self-sacrificing zeal with which he had thrown himself alone into the wide breach made by the convention in what Mr. M. held with Mr. D. to be the true principles of constitutional freedom, and opposed himself singly to a torrent which had proved irresistible.

If there had ever been personal unkindness between them, it was long since healed and obliterated. Still, in Mr. M.'s most decided and deliberate judgment, Mr. Davis' resolutions contained a great radical and mischievous error; an error which, if carried into the Legislation of the States, was fatal to the constitution and the Union upon this point of citizenship. It would prove fatal too to Mr. Davis' own darling scheme of repealing by the national authority the naturalization laws. If Sam during the existence of those laws, can establish by State constitution or law a different rule of citizenship, within a particular State, how shall he say that a State where he is in the minority may not disregard his repealing act, and establish for itself any rule of naturalization the State may see fit? The doctrine in its practical operation, destroys in my judgment, said Mr. M., the fundamental idea of the republic. It annihilates the nationality of the people. It falsifies the first words of the Federal constitution—"We the people of the United States." It abolishes the provision that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." On the one hand a citizen of the United States

can never become a citizen of Kentucky, and on the other a citizen of Illinois or Michigan is not recognized as a citizen of the United States.—This is nullification up to the handle. It is the resuscitation of the South Carolina doctrine, or theory of the government as laid down in her ordinance of 1832. The Federal compact, as they term our national constitution, will not be, under the idea he was considering, an union of the people of the several States in such manner as to make them one, but a confederation of sovereignties, whose citizens are alien to each other and only connected through their several State governments. To be a citizen of the United States will mean nothing, since each and every State in the Union can deprive such of every right and franchise which marks citizenship, or makes it valuable. If Mr. Davis can declare by his State constitution naturalized citizens of the United States forever incapable of office or of suffrage in Kentucky, because they were not born in the United States, he can declare with equal right that a citizen of the United States born in Ohio or Massachusetts, should never vote at the polls or be eligible to office in Kentucky. He might declare that a citizen of Virginia, Carolinas, or any slave State, upon a residence of two years, might vote in Kentucky, but a citizen of any other State migrating to Kentucky should be disfranchised forever. The doctrine denationalises us, makes each State sovereign upon this subject within its borders, and makes the citizens of each State aliens to each other. There is no such thing as the people of the United States.

To refute this idea it would seem only necessary to indicate the consequences which flow inevitably from it. The confusions which will follow this effort to disturb the great principle of the constitution, and the laws of the Union made in pursuance of it in relation to naturalization, are not confined to Sam's side of the question. If he succeeds in repealing those laws, and overthrowing that principle, in pursuit of his favorite scheme of nationality, he will gain nothing by it, unless he carries and retains every State in the Union, an event not to be anticipated. His opponents meet him on Mr. Davis' ground of the right of State interference with the subject. Many distinguished men of the democratic party contend that among the rights of the States, that to fix the qualifications of electors or voters for the members of the State Legislature and all State officers, is unbounded and absolutely unqualified by any condition or exception. They say that the constitution of the United States recognises the right fully in the 2d section of the 1st Article where it fixes the qualifications of electors or voters for members of the House of Representatives in Congress. It is in these words: "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." As the Federal constitution nowhere undertakes to fix or define the qualifications of voters for any offi

cers in the State government, the argument is that the whole matter is left to the unrestrained discretion of the State laws. If this be so, it is evident that a State, or any number of States, may have any number of citizens, who are themselves not citizens of the United States, not covered by the flag or entitled to the protection of the United States government either in peace or war, not entitled to the rights or immunities of citizens in any other State, foreigners and aliens according to the law of nations, and the constitution and laws of the United States, and if taken in arms in the service of the United States, against the Prince or Government in whose allegiance they were born, liable to be hanged for treason, yet authorized by virtue of State laws to vote for members of Congress and President of the United States. Officers whose power extend far beyond the limits of any particular State; powers which bind for good or for evil the whole people of the United States, and challenge the obedience of the entire republic.

It matters not, said Mr. M., whether the argument upon which this right is claimed by its advocates be well or ill founded. Should the naturalization laws be repealed, this right will be practically exercised in many States. The new States, the Territories of the United States not yet organized into States, will be crowded with men of foreign birth; the repeal of the naturalization laws, will disfranchise almost the entire inhabitants, at least a large majority in some sections of the United States. All such will frame their own rules of naturalization, and will fix their own qualifications for electors. The scheme will rend the constitution to shreds and tatters. Sam's purpose to revolutionize the domestic policy of the United States upon this subject is ridiculous, unless he intends to make it uniform. Has the young gentleman bethought him of the means by which he is to enforce his system? He might find it easy enough to crush a few insurrectionary ebullitions of Irish turnpikers, but when he comes to grapple with powerful and organized communities, States asserting their sovereign powers under the constitution, know-nothing mobs will not answer the purpose. Sam must put on armor of another sort and temper. Sam feels the difficulties of his situation, and contends stoutly that the laws of naturalization must be uniform. That if he repeals them, they must be repealed everywhere. He avers that a State cannot naturalize a foreigner, but in the same breath maintains that a State can disfranchise or *unnaturalize* a citizen. Sam is inconsistent. The Democrat argues that his position is in favor of liberty, and extends a right which the national laws are bound by the constitution but refuse to provide for, but that Sam by his doctrine of State interference deprives a citizen of a franchise actually conferred by the national authority. There seems to be at least more of liberality, more of the generous spirit of American freedom in the democratic position. I dis-

agree entirely, and protest most solemnly against either doctrine. Differing in object, they are the same in principle (said Mr. M.)—Nominated by no convention, representing no particular body of men, no one has the right to complain of me. My own nominee, and representing my own ideas, I am free to follow wherever my own free reasoning may lead.—Sam, if he obtains a majority in both Houses of Congress and makes a President who will sign the bill, has, in my judgment, a legal right under the constitution to pass an act repealing all the naturalization laws—and thereafter no one of foreign birth, not naturalized at the time of the passage of the act, can become an American citizen, and none but American citizens can constitutionally have a voice in selecting an American President, or an American Congress. A State cannot pass an act of naturalization.

Perhaps said Mr. M., a comparison of the articles of confederation upon this subject with the provision of the federal constitution, and a reference to the contemporaneous exposition of the latter given by the ablest men of that day or of any day, may elucidate this matter, and place it beyond cavil or dispute. The fourth of the Articles of confederation provides as follows:

"The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the *free inhabitants* of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of *free citizens* in the several States, and *the people* of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, &c." The federal constitution, as we have already seen, (he said) gives to Congress "the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States," and declares further, that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." In commenting upon this power of "naturalization" in No. 42 of the Federalist, in the close of that paper, Mr. Madison uses the following language.

"The dissimilarity in the rules of naturalization has long been remarked as a fault in our system, and as laying a foundation for intricate and delicate questions. In the fourth Article of the confederation it is declared here, he said, that Mr. Madison quotes verbatim the very article he had just read from the confederation — Mr. Madison after quoting the article proceeds:

"There is a confusion of language here which is remarkable. Why the terms *free inhabitants* are used in one part of the article, *free citizens* in another, and *people* in another, or what was meant by superadding to "all privileges and immunities of free citizens" the words "all the privileges of trade and commerce," cannot easily be determined. It seems to be a construction

scarcely avoidable however, that those who come under the denomination of *free inhabitants* of a State, although not citizens of such State, are entitled in every other State to all the privileges of *free citizens* of the latter; that is to greater privileges than they may be entitled to in their own States, so that it may be in the power of a particular State, or rather every State is laid under a necessity, not only to confer the rights of citizenship in other States upon any whom it may admit to such rights within itself, but upon any whom it may allow to become inhabitants within its jurisdiction. But were an exposition of the term "*inhabitants*" to be admitted which would confine the stipulated privileges to citizens alone, the difficulty is diminished only, not removed. The very improper power would still be retained by each State, of naturalizing aliens in every other State. In one State, residence for a short term confers all the rights of citizenship; in another, qualifications of greater importance are required. An alien therefore legally incapacitated for certain rights in the latter, may by previous residence only in the former, elude his incapacity; and thus the law of one State be preposterously rendered paramount to the law of another, within the jurisdiction of the other. We owe it to mere casualty, that very serious embarrassments on this subject have been hitherto escaped. By the laws of several States, certain descriptions of aliens, who had rendered themselves obnoxious, were laid under interdicts inconsistent, not only with the rights of citizenship, but with the privileges of residence. What would have been the consequence, if such persons, by residence or otherwise, had acquired the character of citizens under the laws of another State, and then asserted their rights as such, both to residence and citizenship, within the State proscribing them? Whatever the legal consequences might have been, other consequences would probably have resulted of too serious a nature not to be provided against. The new constitution has accordingly with great propriety made provision against them, and all others proceeding from the defect of the confederation on this head, by authorizing the general government to establish an uniform rule of "naturalization throughout the United States." Nothing can be clearer than this. Before the adoption of the present constitution of the United States, each State had the right under the first articles of confederation to pass their own naturalization laws, which of course were variant in the different States—this, coupled with the provision that the inhabitants or citizens of each State had the right of citizens in other States, produced the confusion so admirably delineated by Mr. Madison. To remedy which the Federal constitution gave exclusive power over the subject to the general government. The doctrine Mr. M. was combating would bring back all the confusion the constitution designed to obviate. If Illinois or Michigan, for instance, should confer upon a free inhabitant, an alien born, and not

naturalized by the law of the United States, the right of citizenship in Illinois, if such an one should remove to Kentucky, what would become of the provision "That the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges," &c.—There is a different rule in Kentucky. An alien born can have no right of citizenship here. The constitution would be broken up, he said.

But in the 32d No. of the Federalist, Alexander Hamilton wrote thus: "An entire consolidation of the States into one complete national sovereignty, would imply an entire subordination of the parts; and whatever power might remain in them, would be altogether dependent on the general will. But as the plan of the convention aims only at a partial union or consolidation, the State governments will clearly retain all the rights of sovereignty which they before had, and which are not by that act (the Federal constitution) exclusively delegated to the Union. This exclusive delegation, or rather this alienation of sovereignty, will only exist in three cases: 1st. Where the constitution in express terms grants an exclusive authority to the Union. 2nd. Where it grants in one instance, an authority to the Union, and in another prohibits the States from exercising the like authority. 3d. Where it grants an authority to the Union, to which a similar authority in the States would be absolutely and totally contradictory and repugnant." After giving examples of the two first cases put of exclusive authority granted to the Union, Mr. Hamilton proceeds: "The third will be found in that clause which declares that Congress shall have power to establish an uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States. This must certainly be exclusive", he adds, "because if each State had power to prescribe a distinct rule, there could be no uniform rule". In the 80th number of the Federalist it is observed: "It may be esteemed the basis of the Union, that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the several States." From the reason of the thing, and from these highest of all authorities, it is evident, that this power is exclusively vested in the Union, and that the rule of naturalization must be uniform throughout all the States, or the Union is broken up at the basis. Nor does this reasoning, conclusive as it is, at all conflict with the right of a State to fix the qualifications of electors or voters within its limits. The qualification when ascertained, must apply equally to all citizens of the United States. No citizen of the United States, (and in this respect, nor indeed in any respect, is there any distinction between the native and the naturalized) having the legal qualifications can be proscribed on account of the place of his birth. Nor on the other hand, can any power short of the Union, Americanize an alien. In this way, and in this way alone, can the constitution be observed, and an uniform rule be established or preserved. In the quotation made from Mr. Madison, the power is shown to have been a

necessary one. Unless it had been exerted, the existing confusions could not have been remedied. It is just as necessary now. If it be abandoned—if the national laws be repealed—the State governments will, from the necessities of their situation, and the nature of their population, be compelled to take it up. When the general government abdicates, or fails to exercise necessary powers, usurpation upon the part of the States is the inevitable, the absolutely necessary consequence.

Mr. Marshall said that the Federal Constitution designed evidently that none but *American citizens* should rule America. Its purpose was equally clear not to confine the rights of citizenship to those born in the United States. The high power of converting an alien into a citizen, of Americanizing a stranger by birth, was conferred exclusively upon the General Government. An act nationalizing an individual, investing him with rights which the Constitution compels, in express terms, every State to respect, must needs be performed by the *national* government. No State could bind all the others by any separate act of its own. I have shown sufficiently, said Mr. M., the confusion, which would inevitably follow—the unavoidable breaches which would be made in other parts of the Constitution, if the several States should set up separate and different rules of naturalization. The effort of Illinois or Michigan to admit persons, alien by the laws of the United States, to the rights of citizenship, and that made by Mr. Davis in Kentucky to exclude American citizens in Kentucky from franchises which they must needs carry with them everywhere, to obliterate by a State act the stamp of nationality impressed upon them by the laws of the Union, are kindred errors, alike at war with the language of the Constitution, the construction given to it by its wisest interpreters, the whole genius of our system, and the true idea of American nationality.

The right of expatriation—the right of a human being to throw off the involuntary and oppressive obligations imposed by the accident of birth within a particular jurisdiction, to shift his residence from one part of the globe to another, and by the spontaneous act of a full grown man to choose his country, is one of those American ideas, which our fathers meant to establish and make practical by the institutions which they founded. The right to shift your allegiance is denied by the common laws of England. *Nemo potest exuere patriam*—no one can throw off his country—is a maxim of that jurisprudence. A subject of the crown, is one born within the King's legiance. Once a subject always a subject, is the principle of the British law. The doctrine of the American Constitution is different. Descended from men, who themselves had fled from oppression, the men of '76 completed the act of expatriation, by a declaration of independence and a forcible revolution. They framed a government upon which they conferred the power, to convert

aliens born into citizens, and to impose upon them exclusive and absolute allegiance, with the correlative duty of protection upon the part of the government, the common law to the contrary notwithstanding. In possession of a vast extent of fertile and unsettled land, the American fathers did not intend to close their door against further immigration. In the relative circumstances of the old and the new world, as to population and territory, they had sense enough to know that nature would press with irresistible force against any bar that artificial policy might attempt to raise. They sought not therefore to separate themselves from the human race—to surround themselves with an ocean of fire—to throw an impassable gulf between a republic so situated, and the enslaved and suffering population of other countries. Considering such a policy to be as impossible in execution, as it was merciless in design, they flung wide their gates. The influx of population from abroad was a fact impossible to prevent. How to deal with it was a practical question which they had to settle in their fundamental policy—and they did settle it by the fearless application of those principles, which in their declaration they had proclaimed to be the birth right of mankind.

They believed with a deep and living faith in those principles. They had trusted their cause to them, they had founded their institutions upon them.

That political government among men, derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, was one of their *axioms*. They did not condescend to prove it by logic—they announced it as a truth self-evident to human reason, an essential element of human right, an indisputable postulate of freedom. From this they deduced their principle of representation in its largest sense.

The power claimed by the British parliament to tax the colonies, was as every one knows, the question which brought on the war of the revolution. The ground upon which the colonies denied the power was, that they were not represented in that parliament. They asserted the principle retrospectively, and contended that the colonies had always been independent of the British Legislature, and such was the historical fact. In its grand extension, it embraces and distinctly recognizes the eternal truth, the basis of all liberty, that no legislation can justly bind, unless the subject of it consent to the law by himself or his representative. The principle is cardinal, it is absolutely inseparable from the American idea of civil liberty. Tear it away, and the idea, and the fact—the principle and the liberty are gone.

From a profound policy then, as well as an enlarged benevolence (things which the truly wise have ever held to be identical) they thought it safer as well as more humane to impart to the stranger all the blessings of freedom which themselves enjoyed. An alien by birth, they determined to make him a citizen by adoption,

and to bind him to the country of his choice, by the strong cords of gratitude and affection, as well as interest. They did not think it either wise or safe, to have a large number of foreigners always foreigners, in the bosom of a republic, always in full view of the most perfect civil liberty, yet deprived of its enjoyment; for liberty is an enjoyment as well as a right. To them it would be no republic. Excluded from office and from honor, with no voice in the councils, no power to hold real estate, no representation in the legislature of such rights as might remain to them, in what do persons thus situated differ from the subjects of an absolute despotism? They do differ in one, and that a most material circumstance.

Under the absolute government of a single person, whose will is the sole law, all below him are at least equal. It is some comfort to a man, if he be a slave, at least to feel and know that it is the common lot. The subjects of a single master are peers in servitude. Of all the forms of oppression, the most unbearable to human thought, yet the most irresponsible, insolent and irresistible, is the tyranny of an exclusively privileged class. Reason and experience, fact and theory, speculation and practice, agree in this, that the tyranny of caste over caste, is the most corrupting to those above, the most crushing and intolerable to the heart and soul of those below, of any of the corrupting and crushing forms of tyranny heretofore known among men.

Our ancestors, therefore, did not mean to divide *American* society into horizontal strata, by a boundary line of religion and of blood, with those who had happened to be born in another part of the earth, and those of the Catholic religion, no matter where born, (these being of a faith so accursed that not even American birth and education could purify the taint,) safely stowed away below, while the favorites of heaven, the protestants elect, securely seated on top, booted, spurred and mounted on the backs of the degraded class, might rule and ride a dominant and regnant party, armed with the exclusive rights of office and of suffrage—in other words, with power absolute and irresistible, save by arms.

They believed that a republic, founded upon the most perfect equality of rights among those subjected to its laws and government, was not only the most just and free, the most productive of happiness and improvement, the best calculated to develop the faculties, intellectual and moral, the most favorable to science and to virtue, but also that it was the most permanent and secure, whether from external force or from internal disorder. They believed in liberty sincerely, devoutly, without hypocrisy or doubt, as the fountain of all good things, as that which gives to the individual dignity and courage, to the State strength and grandeur, safety and permanence. Without it, in their judgment, there could be no patriotism, no love of country.

A State which reposes in the honest love of its

citizens, a love founded in the private interest which each individual has in its preservation, is safer without revenue or arms, surrounded by a rampart of hearts, than an oppressive, unjust and unequal government, with all the guards and garrisons, the bayonets and fortresses which money, wrung by force from an unwilling and enslaved people, can build or buy.

Make the foreigner a citizen, and he enters upon the practical enjoyment of all the rights of other men. He is incorporated with the State, and feels himself a part of it. He loves it as his country in peace, he defends it with honor in war. Keep him a foreigner, and he hates you, as all those of a degraded caste loathe what is above them. He is a domestic enemy ripe for revolution. If your enemy be his former master, and he fights for you in war, he fights with a halter round his neck. Captivity dooms him to the death of a felon. Your flag is not his flag, it does not cover him. In a land of liberty he is a slave. In the home of his choice he is a stranger. In peace he has no civil rights. In war no hopes of honor.

Without representation, our ancestors believed that there could be no civil liberty—without an entire, total and permanent separation of the ecclesiastical State from the political, of the church from the civil government, of religion from the temporal power of the priest, no matter of what faith, and his dogmas, from the laws and the magistracy, there could be no religious liberty.

Our ancestors were not heathen or infidels.—Devoted and christian men, they believed that in founding a State without a religion, and in establishing perfect toleration, they were in fact establishing christianity, and providing for the purity of the church and the extension of the gospel, according to its own free genius and the precepts of its founder. My kingdom is not of this world, He said; and again when speaking of the Jewish laws against adultery, He said, Whoso looketh upon a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery in his heart. It is to the heart and will that christianity addresses itself, and seeks to reform human nature and purify human action by cleansing it at the fountain. When the church, in violation of the commands of its master, sought “to lift its mitred front” among the princes of the earth, and becoming a political establishment, aimed to extend and enforce the faith by compulsory regulation, the Almighty averted his face and his support far from it.

Never yet has christianity leaned upon the arm of human government and force for support, that it has not been tainted and defiled by the alliance. Engaged in the struggle for wealth and power, embroiled in the passions and turmoil of earthly strife and mundane politics, the church abdicating her office, abandons her trust, and finally quits the conflict, with her holy vestments stained and polluted, her divine lineaments erased, and her just and appropriate influence overthrown.

The political weakness of the church, constitutes its moral strength and grandeur.

Seeking no participation in the temporal power, coveting not the treasures of this world, she comes with a more commanding voice to soothe the passions in which she does not share, to arbitrate in the strifes to which she is no party.

When our constitutions bar the ministers of gospel from political power, they do not seek so much to preserve the liberty of the State, as the proper dignity and purity of the church.

I perceive, gentlemen, said Mr. M., that I am in the midst of the order of "know nothings." You call yourselves "the American party."—You have built a platform which you are pleased to call national. There is nothing national in it, nothing peculiar, nothing which distinguishes you from other parties or other persons, but the two principles of religious persecution, and the denial of the right of expatriation.—These ideas are revolutionary and *anti-American*. You seek to overthrow toleration, naturalization, and political equality among citizens, to tear away the threads which run like a fine tissue of gold through the whole web of our system, strings which are twisted with the very heart and life of our republic.

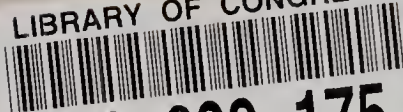
You say that you do not mean to interfere with the rights of conscience or any man's religious liberty, yet you make out a case against the Catholic which declares him necessarily an enemy of the State, the sworn subject of a foreign Prince, a domestic traitor whose oath of allegiance to the State is a perjury, whose real master is the enemy of all human freedom, who is flooding this country with whole armies of priests and jesuits, who wait but his orders and the coming hour of strength to overthrow the republic. You do not mean to persecute the Catholic, yet you charge him with designs and crimes against the State, springing necessarily from the nature of his religion, which would justify any extremity of violence, which would render his expulsion or extermination a wise, humane and necessary policy. There has been a time when the cry of popery and "popish plots" would lash the Anglo-Saxon mind to murder and to madness. Those days are long gone by even in England. The British government has expunged in the nineteenth century her persecuting statues. She has passed her Catholic emancipation act. The United States will not rest, assured she will not clothe her young and buoyant limbs with the cast off vestments of which even monarchy has grown ashamed. Every well informed man knows that the tie between the Catholic laity or priesthood, and the Pope as spiritual head of the church, is not political. Every well informed man knows, that outside of the Papal States in Italy, no Catholic owes any allegiance to the Pope as a temporal Prince or Potentate. He is at this time held on his throne by a foreign hand. He is protected against his own subjects by 8000 French bayonets.

Nobody in America is afraid of the Pope.

You say that the Catholic and the citizen of foreign birth are necessarily abolitionists. The history of parties will not bear out the assertion. Is the legislature of Massachusetts composed of men of foreign birth? Are the sixty-three preachers, members of that assembly, Catholic Priests? Natives and Protestants every dog of them. Yet they have *nullified* the fugitive slave law. They are know-nothings also. They wish to proscribe the Catholic and the foreigner. With these men, the abolition of slavery is "the great idea" of the nineteenth century. They believe that to be the institution which chiefly endangers "our nationality, our Protestant civilization, our federal Union." How happens it, that they should proscribe the Catholic and the naturalized citizen, if that class are with them in their great and paramount object? The fact is otherwise, and the history of parties proves it to be otherwise.

The whig party, under that name, exists no longer. The world however will see, rest assured they will, in "Young Sam" nothing but a renewal of the old struggle for power, under a new name, and with new and dangerous principles. The true crime of the Catholics and the naturalized citizens, is not that they seek to bring over to this country either the forms or the substance of despotism, either civil or religious. It is that they are too democratic. It is that they have defeated the whigs in their reiterated efforts to make a President and to control the government. Let the truth be told though the sky should fall. That party threw overboard such men as Webster and Fillmore. It was said that General Scott inclined to the Catholic religion. It was said that he had educated his daughters in a convent, that he had made an American army in Mexico kneel before a procession of Priests, at the elevation of the host. He was nominated by a whig convention. The whig papers hurled their anathemas at General Pierce and New Hampshire, because that State had proscribed Catholics by law. Gen. Scott was beaten. The overthrow was terrible.—Curse the Catholics, they would not vote for a quasi Catholic candidate, when you offered him, and henceforth they should not be allowed to vote at all. It is the democratic party, not the Pope, which you hate and dread. The Constitution and the laws of the republic, heretofore deemed fundamental, do not work to please a defeated party, and they, following the beaten path of baffled factions, seek to change them.

Your new organization, gentlemen, seems to be strong and to contain many elements of popular strength. Its novelty, the charm of secrecy so well calculated to attract young and thoughtless men, the name of "American party," the cry of "Americans shall rule America," so gratifying to native pride, the promise of a dominant caste, so alluring to the tyrannic love of dominion, which, say what we will, forms at least an essential element of human nature, the invitation to all the Protestant sects to unite in a crusade



against a church, feeble and defenceless here, and odious, justly odious, to the Protestant—all these things seem ominous of success. The cry of abolitionism, too, against the wretched foreigner invited here by the generosity of our subsisting laws, is a word of fire in the South. Sam sings a different tune in the North. There he is himself abolitionist, but still denounces the Catholic and the foreigner. He remembers Polk, he remembers that accursed acquisition of all the slave Territory which lies South of the compromise line of 36:30, the annexation of Texas, for which although rent from a Catholic power, the accursed papist and the foreigner still voted. He remembers the Mexican war, in which, though waged against the same Catholic power from which Texas had been ravished, these accursed Catholics, the temporal subjects of the Pope, against their allegiance and the will and the interest of their real master, rushed by thousands to aid a *Protestant Republic* in conquering and ravaging a thoroughly Catholic State. Sam North remembers the protective tariff so important to his gains, so dear to his avarice, and that these same Catholics and foreigners, aided to their uttermost, the hateful slave States and the democrats to put it down. Sam adapts his music skilfully to the different tastes of his various audiences, but it is still the dirge to Catholics and foreigners. Although the worst and the most powerful passions of the human mind are appealed to with tremendous emphasis, mark my words, it will not at all do. Many of Sam's sworn soldiers will fall off from him. He may muster from the Protestant churches a small a very small corps of ignorant fanatics, really frightened with the ghost of the Papacy, and a few bloody bigots, anxious for the game of persecution, but the enlightened christian clergy, understanding well the history of the church, and deeply imbued with the spirit of their master, will scorn the aid of the temporal power, and refuse to lean upon the secular arm for support to religion. The Bible and liberty, a free press and a free pulpit, are all they ask for the diffusion of the Gospel. If Sam succeeds, however, which may Heaven avert, he will convert the Catholic, native as well as foreigner, into a deadly and dangerous

enemy of the Republic, planted in the very bowels of the State. I mean not to threaten; God forbid; but men have been known to fight long and hard, and against desperate odds for their religion and their franchises. It is in vain for Sam to say that he means not to disturb the vested rights conferred by naturalization, or to interfere forcibly with the Catholic mode of worship or their dogmas. The Catholics and the present naturalized foreigners, know very well, that it is hatred, deadly hatred of them, which has caused the new political organization. They see a political platform, in which there is no politics. War, commerce, negotiation, everything that has been heretofore considered as appertaining to policy, either foreign or domestic, pretermitted. Hatred to them seems the only principle of the new party. Men, I say have been known to fight for their religion and their franchises. John Huss was an obscure professor in a Germany University. The Emperor Sigismund when he burnt him at Constance, little dreamed that from the ashes of the friendless martyr there would rise the flames of a war in Bohemia which would shake the Austrian power and desolate Germany through long years of suffering and of blood. If the persecuting temper of the sixteenth century is to be renewed here, if American Protestantism so far forgets its genius and its mission, as to aid in rekindling the religious wars of that terrible period in quest of vengeance for the gone centuries of wrong, Religion will suffer most. True christianity will veil her face and seek the shade, till better times. Men will be divided between a sullen and sordid fanaticism on the one side, and a scoffing infidelity on the other. Our national characteristics will be lost. American civilization will have changed its character.—Our Federal Union will have sacrificed its distinctive traits, and we shall have exhibited a failure in the principles with which our government commenced its career, at which Hell itself might exult in triumph.

I have heard Mr. Marshall several times since this report commenced and have endeavored to incorporate the substance of all he has said.

A NATIVE PROTESTANT.